243 although belonging to the same race (see Appendix 3). It is believed in Cherán that blue maize will not grow in the fields, although an almost identical genetic type is grown in the fields in Sevina and Nahuatzen. The stalks are taller and more slender and the ears are larger and longer than those of other types. Although it may be planted as early as Trimásion, the maturation time is faster and some people plant black maize late in order to have a single harvest time. In no case is black corn planted before Easter Saturday. However, much of
[262] the black maize is eaten in the milk stage as roasting ears. The stalks are also sweeter,
[263] apparently, and non-bearing stalks are cut and chewed to extract the sweet sap.

All Cherán farmers preserve a red color
243 variant of the Trimásion and Tulukénio types.
824 Red ears are called čóču and are considered a different variety, but genetically the type apparently is only a color variant. A few red ears are always planted in each field. The reasons are discussed below. Red maize is said to be sweeter and is used for two kinds of cookies, an S-shaped cookie called čústika and a coiled shape called tokére čústika.

No effort is made to select seed at harvest.
243 All the maize is stored together, but as corn is taken from storage for use, the farmer's wife systematically lays aside red ears and the largest and best-filled-out ears, always taking inferior ears for food or sale. In this way, when planting time comes, the best ears remain. These are sorted and a further selection made. Grains from the butt and tip are discarded.

Maize seed selection is always done when the moon is crescent. Neither selection nor shelling is done after the full moon. This rule applies to no other seeds. Each family keeps its own seed (of all other plants as well as maize) and obtains seed from others only if its own is very bad.

Maize is subject to many plagues and animal enemies. Pocket gophers do great damage to maize (and also to wheat). Before planting, and usually before plowing, gunpowder is exploded in the runways of the animals, which is said to kill many. No effort is made to trap or kill survivors, however, even though they may be damaging growing crops severely.

243 and none at all to stop attacks of weevils or bee-
251 tles. There are no mechanical corn shellers in Cherán, and bulk sales of unshelled maize are often made. Small amounts may be shelled for sale to storekeepers if there is need of a few cents in cash. One common method of shelling corn is to bind corncobs tightly with wire or cord to make a bundle about 12 inches in diameter. Maize ears are laid on the floor and rolled with this crude implement.

Black maize usually is not completely husked. Instead, pairs of ears are tied together and hung over poles in the house. The best ears are often hung on a pole on the veranda. Good field ears may also be hung in
[252] the house. Most black corn is consumed as roasting ears. Otherwise it is usually saved
[796] to make tamales in Easter week.

Discussion of land values, maize yields, and labor costs is deferred to the section on economics.

WHEAT

243 Wheat lands may be fertilized by hiring
[231] sheep to bed at night on wheat fields. Lands are plowed once before planting, and the seed is then sown broadcast. The land is then plowed lightly a second time, the furrows being at right angles to the first. Thorny brush, such as wild crab apple, is weighted and dragged across the furrows to break up large clods and to complete covering of the seed.

Some persons say only one kind of wheat is grown at Cherán, a type planted between September and November and maturing during the dry season. However, both bearded and beardless varieties were observed. Moreover, a few families have a so-called winter wheat
[821] ("winter" in Cherán is the rainy season, technically our summer) which is planted before the rainy season and matures in August or September. The more commonly grown wheat, it is said, would not survive so much water. Some other Tarascan towns near Tangancicuaro are reported to grow a reddish-colored wheat.

The dry-season wheat is short-stalked and often grows very sparsely. Moreover, most wheat is grown on inferior sloping lands or lands on which corn does not do well. Rains often appear to be inadequate to produce a

776 sometimes as a *bulto* (indistinct form) which whistles to people and gets them to follow it until they are lost in the woods. One informant, named Juan, said he had been seized in the Cerro del Aire and was able to escape only by recommending himself to the patron saint, San Juan. Otherwise he would have fallen in a cave where the devil could have seized him.

[556] In Urén in La Cañada it is said that the miriŋgua appears where money has been hidden. If someone gets rich suddenly it is said that "he has encountered the miriŋgua." The miriŋgua is also said to appear in the shape of dog or cat, but these are really disguised witches.

356 When houses are repaired or reconditioned, it is customary to hang up flowers, usually fastening the flowers to strings which are looped over doorways and windows. The practice was said to be customary and no beliefs concerning it could be discovered.

782 When the rains are late in coming in May,
789 the image of one of the saints is taken to the top of the Sierra San Marcos, south of town. There the image is raised up and down several times and *cohetes* are fired. Even sceptics admit it usually rains soon after this; some of the naive attribute the rain to the *cohetes*, others to the proximity of the rainy season.

821 When the mountain of Pilón, east of town, has mist on top, it is going to rain, say many. The early rains come from the direction of Pilón, the later from the direction of San Marcos.

787 If people are seated and a dog comes and
825 howls, some misfortune may befall the people. The coyote has magical power over animals. If he just gives himself a shake, the chickens will walk over to him and let themselves be eaten.

A person who finds a dead deer in the mountains which he has not killed will have some misfortune befall his family. A son, brother, parent, etc., will certainly die, and there is no way of averting the misfortune.

If a coyote crosses the road in front of one, it is a sign some misfortune will occur.

A blue-bellied lizard found occasionally in Cherán is believed to be able to jump on a person's back without his knowing it and burrow inside. It leaves a blue lizard mark on the

825 787 back where it enters, but no further beliefs could be discovered.

An animal said to be unique in Cherán is the *hachoque* or ečékurita. It resembles a lizard and is spotted black and white. It lives in corners, inside the walls of houses, or in the stone pillars. It does not bite or injure people, but it is believed to suckle the breasts of nursing mothers while they are sleeping, taking all the milk. The animal cannot be killed with blows or by cutting it up, for the pieces reunite. Only by burning it with coals can it be killed.

823 A very clever man once went up on San Marcos and struck the mountain. Water poured out, creating a *barranca*, and continued for several days until the plain west of town was covered several feet deep. The priest then went up the mountain and ordered the water to stop, which it did.

821 263 789 Against hurricanes and hail, a cross is made in the patio or the street, of ashes, taken from the household fireplace. Salt is not put in the fire for this purpose.

[text continues on top of p. 163b]

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 In the preceding sections the culture of Cherán has been treated primarily from its technological and institutional aspects. The position of individuals and their activities have been discussed, it is true, but the orientation has been toward generalized and institutionalized activities. In the following pages will be discussed the activities which are more directly individual in character. This is not to say that many of these activities are not institutionalized; certainly the wedding ceremonies, for example, are quite as institutionalized in character as the *mayordomía*. Nevertheless, the wedding is more closely related to the development of individual personal relationships. Emphasis in succeeding pages will be upon the crisis periods in the individual and upon the developmental and behavioral patterns in the intervals between crises.

It will be obvious in the following discussion that treatment of the role of the individual in the culture and the impact of the culture upon the individual is very incomplete. Particular weaknesses are apparent in the discussion of infancy

[text continues on middle of p. 163b]

789 The crosses put on top of houses are to
821 protect them from lightning or whirlwinds.

If people swim in Las Pilas, a small pond
481 northeast of town, they will sink after swim-
823 ming out a certain distance. Horses will drown there also.

821 Eclipses are thought the work of some higher power and that nothing can be done about them. There is no fear of eclipses, though, except in connection with childbirth. Some believe eclipses result from struggles between sun, moon, and earth. The defeated element is said to devour part of the foetus, causing adhesions between various parts and the womb and making birth difficult. No beliefs could be discovered about the stars. Indeed, informants insisted that there were no names for the stars and that people did not distinguish one from the other. This is unusual if true.

Mention should be made here of beliefs in the evil eye and in *los aires*, "the airs or winds." They will be discussed in connection with disease concepts and curing.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE CULTURE

128 and childhood and in the part of women. These lacks are inevitable, not only from the shortness of the study, but from the special attitudes in Cherán which closed so many avenues of approach to male investigators. Material collected by Rendón is very helpful, but it is fragmentary and insufficient. It does show, though, that women investigators could secure many data otherwise difficult to collect.

BIRTH

842 Children are generally desired in Cherán, and motherhood is regarded as normal and expectable. There is a clear idea of the physiological causation of pregnancy, and normally no means are taken to avoid it. Men are said to prefer boys and women to prefer girls, but whatever the sex, both parents usually welcome the child and wish many, and childbirth appears to cause minimal emotional disturbances, although they are not lacking. Although no accurate data were available, informants did not believe there were more than six or eight women in Cherán who had not borne children. Some said that

847 To cause abortion, the root is mashed to obtain
278 the juice. The latter is strained and taken mixed in a liter of water. *Gobernadorcillo* is
[844] also taken to accelerate the birth if it should be slow.

842 One midwife purges barren women with the
278 bulb of the white lily. Two or three bulbs are used; they are cooked and strained, and the juice given. Three days after the purge, the patient is bathed and "given a sweat" with cooking oil and ground salt rubbed all over the body. This cure is given during the time of menstruation to "clear" the blood. This cures the "coldnesses" of the patient or causes the harmful elements to be discharged. One patient now has four children. Another, barren 10 years before treatment, now has two children.

847 Involuntary abortions also occur. Pregnant mothers are often fearful of this and sometimes will not go to curers when they are ill for fear they will be given a medicine which will cause abortion. A woman in her eighth month of pregnancy who was suffering fever and spitting blood refused to go to the curer for fear of being given abortive drugs. Drinking is believed to cause many abortions, and heavy work, such as lifting a log while helping to build a fence, is recognized as a possible cause of abortion. If the mother "likes something too much," for example, a horse or a kind of food, the child may be born prematurely, but apparently may live. Solar eclipses are likewise
[821] believed to cause early births. The midwife is sometimes called if abortion is feared. One midwife anoints the coccyx and abdomen with the white of an egg (which has been beaten on the ground) and also with lard and oil. Another midwife gives the flower of maize, tomato peel, a shoot of verbena, and a potsherd of Guadalajara ware. The potsherd is ground and the whole made into an infusion. This is taken twice and the coccyx and abdomen are rubbed with the white of an egg beaten on the ground.

843 Some people believe that the first child takes 9 months to mature, while the subsequent children take only 8 months. While women do not keep exact count of the period between menstruations, they have a pretty accurate idea of the proper interval, and pregnancy is recognized when menstruation fails to occur. Lassitude, heaviness, and loss of appetite are con-

843 sidered frequent symptoms also. Sometimes in the early months women are sick at their stomachs and vomit in the mornings.

Usually a midwife is sought early in pregnancy and pays frequent visits to the enceinte woman. The midwife massages the woman with lard or cooking oil "to make sure the foetus is in the right position" and generally keeps an eye on the patient's health. Sometimes the midwife locates the head of the child during the massage. A fee of 10 centavos is charged for each visit.

A pregnant woman should not do much work, should not lift heavy things, and should take frequent baths in cold water in the house. She continues to grind corn and carry water; young mothers, indeed, are encouraged to keep active by older women, who believe some exercise helps the mother. She does not cook tortillas if she can avoid it, because the fire might "cook" the foetus. Toward the end of pregnancy some women are "delicate" and eat very little. At Capacuaro this is customary in the last days of pregnancy. Otherwise there are no prenatal food taboos.

843 An eclipse during pregnancy may cause
● 821 something bad to happen to the child. To
[789] prevent the effects, a red belt is worn underneath the several belts worn by women who dress in traditional costume. If Mestizo costume is worn, red underwear is used. Women should do nothing during an eclipse. The
[144] occurrence of Mongoloid spot is reported. It is believed that this is caused by the woman carrying her coins in the customary fashion in her belt during pregnancy.

843 Women should not tie any animals during pregnancy, as this may cause the child to be strangled by the umbilical cord during birth. If the mother urinates where some animal has urinated, the child may be born with some part of the animal. Reports were given by midwives of children having been born with a pig face or a goat face and tail because the mother urinated where these animals had urinated. In the latter part of pregnancy a woman should always remove the lid from a vessel before lifting it from the fire; if she fails to observe this rule, the child may be born dumb. Clubfoot is caused by the mother not taking proper care of herself.

845 the fire, opened and rubbed with oil, and placed on the abdomen and coccyx of the patient.

821 844 Some midwives say the influence of the phases of the moon determines the length of labor. Eclipses also affect the labors. Witchcraft or improper care by the mother may be a cause of prolonged labor. If much silky white liquid is discharged in a difficult birth, it is said the mother did not bathe herself and keep clean or that she had relations with her husband after she should have ceased.

845 Breech presentations and other abnormal positions are known, although one midwife had not seen one in 5 years of practice. When they occur the midwife must be adept at manipulating the child. She puts lard on her hands and works the legs out first. The arms of the foetus must be kept at its sides and the chin down to prevent strangulation. According to one account of a breech presentation, several midwives were called in and an attempt was made to get the doctor from Paracho. One midwife (by her own account, at least) used a wooden bowl to distend the cervix, reached in and turned the child and delivered it successfully before the doctor arrived. In difficult births the child is sometimes born dead. The midwife touches his belly to see if he is still breathing; if he is, she lights a cigarette and puffs the smoke in his face "to wake him up."

Twins are relatively rare, but are known to a number of midwives, who do not report special trouble with them. One remarked that they came "like two cherries on branching stems." The Mongoloid spot is described as [144] occurring occasionally.

Numerous abnormalities in birth are reported. Some are undoubtedly due to venereal [753] diseases, about which the Cherán people know very little. Even our most sophisticated informant was a little dubious of just what gonorrhea and syphilis were. Some abnormalities, almost ceretainly due to syphilis, are attributed to the father having worked in turpentine. One midwife reported a case where the father persisted in working in turpentine, which foams when being boiled. When the child started to arrive, the mother nearly suffocated. All she could smell was turpentine. The child's arm emerged first; it was black and when the midwife touched it the skin broke and the

845 inside was foam like the boiling turpentine. By giving the mother medicines the delivery succeeded, but the child's skin broke easily and inside was foam. The more bizarre aspects of this account may be discounted, but some factual basis probably existed.

Another case reported was a child born with the "head all hollow." Yet another had eyes "as though gouged out with a knife" and only the rudiments of a nose. Both children were born dead. The phenomena were attributed to [821] an eclipse. Few cases occur in which the mother has died without delivery being accomplished, but still-births are more frequent. Strangling with the cord is said to occur in some cases. Birth of children with clubfoot (said to be caused by the mother not taking care of herself) and blind children (caused by God's will) are both known. No hunchbacks were reported. One other case where the child's arm emerged first was reported; the child died but the mother lived. Animal births are mentioned also. Only one case accompanied by severe hemorrhage was reported.

[805] Children born in May are said to be mischievous and courageous, those born in February to be half crazy.

846 After the birth of the child the mother stays in bed from 8 to 15 days. At the conclusion of this time she bathes and gets up, but remains under food taboos and spends some time reclining during the next 5 days, when she bathes again and may go out of the house. The midwife visits the mother daily until she gets out of bed, massaging her. When the mother can walk, she begins to do small tasks. Full resumption of tasks is not undertaken until the termination of the food restrictions, about 40 days after birth. Some women do not go out of the house until 3 weeks have passed. After the mother has gotten out of bed, the midwife may still massage her with unguents, either [278] coconut oil or white lily. During the period the mother should not be left alone, so she will not be frightened or visited by an evil spirit. Usually the mother is cared for after birth by the husband's mother, by her own mother, or some female relative. Wealthier families, though, may hire someone to assist.

846 One case of what was probably a postpartur-
757 ient infection was recorded. The midwife

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771 In the Introduction, concepts of folk and national culture were presented. In Mexican Indian cultures the most distinctive aspects of folk religion are to be found in what we might call unorganized religion, *i. e.*, those beliefs and rituals calling only for private ceremonials which are not connected with the Church and related ceremonial groups; they usually center around technological or life cycle activities. For instance, agricultural rites or concepts of diseases and ways of curing them are fields where more folk culture, and also more pre-Spanish survivals, are found.

771 177 Among the Tarascans, their connection with national life, greater than that of other Indian groups, has meant greater acculturation to the national culture. Technological rites are almost non-existent. One finds only miscellaneous beliefs about cooking, the hearth, or the influence of the [241] moon on plants. Only corn agriculture has a few more religious associations in the more conservative villages where idols are kept in the cornfield and candles are lighted to them. There are also a number of tales and beliefs about corn and the weather.

● [821] [824]

796 In the life cycle ceremonies the main religious aspects today are those of Catholicism (the sacraments). Only witchcraft and [754] some concepts of disease form any significant part of the folk religion, although [177] they are dominated by ideas about the saints and the Devil, and historically are of Spanish more than of Indian origin.

779 Unorganized (non-Church) religion is comparatively unimportant among the Tarascans. Most religion in the Tarascan culture has to be described in terms of the Church, a national (and international) institution with its own ideology, personnel, organization and particular interests. As it appears in Tarascan villages, there is a clear difference between national and folk components of religion. On the one hand are the priest and his connection to the hierarchy; and elements of the cult such as the sacraments, mass, rosary, etc., which follow the rules of the international Church. Other aspects of belief and ritual, on the other hand, though connected with those of the Church, are locally organized and peculiar to the local subculture. This is what we call folk Catholicism.

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775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to
775 so that they will kill one's enemy. This takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the [illegible]ave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

128 An outline of Tarascan folklore and main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

821 Harmful natural elements are consid-
776 ered bad and are related to the Devil. They either are caused by him or are special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The
[823] volcano was made by the Devil, as something bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

183 The material which is of more interest to our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

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539 a snake. Agustin takes this very much to heart: "If that sucker had stood up, all the riches would be now his and the town's."

Pablo tells some story of the trickster, Pedro de Urdemalas. And he comments, "Those ancients were really clever, weren't they?"

771 Informants like Maximino, totally con-
181 vinced of the truth of their stories, are
178 rather unusual. This attitude is found only in a few people, mainly old-timers. Many informants have that same credulous attitude on many points, but some skepticism is also present. New attitudes away from total belief in folk ideas are found among most people, and those active in both agrarista or sinarquista movements share in them.

It appears that as the village community becomes increasingly part of the external world, greater acceptance of outside ideology sets in. When Indians are more drawn into the division of labor in the greater society, they begin to accept as part of this division of labor the fact that it is the outsider's job (Church, school, etc.) to rule on matters pertaining to ideology (religion, science, and so on). Unlike Maximino, who is sure of the truth of his stories, most people are full of doubts and when talking with the ethnographer express the idea that he (the ethnographer), as one coming from the outside, knows better than they do the answers to his questions.

821 "Who knows, really?" or "Who knows
812 what the truth is?" is a common answer to questions about the nature of the world, the sun, the moon, the volcano, and so on. Often people will confess their ignorance and ask questions in their turn. Sometimes they think it silly that such questions are put to them: "When will the volcano go out? Why! Even the geologists don't know." "How can we know the shape of the world? Some people of this town have never been even in Morelia [state capital]."

773 In relation to the different types of narratives we have described, the same process of change is apparent. Myths are sometimes doubted as perhaps not in keeping with the teachings of the Church. A complete creation myth, for instance, was recorded only after the informant, Mateo, had provided many other tales. When asked why he didn't tell this before, he answered, "I didn't think you would like it." "Is it true?" "Who knows, what do you think? I guess it is only a tale."

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771 is seen not only in their behavior but also in the fact that their ideas about cargos
668 are changing. Whereas for the traditionalist, cargos are a necessary service to God
[782] in order to reach heaven, some Catholics oppose this idea. They say it is only custom, an unnecessary expenditure of money, not required to be a good Catholic, and they are supported by the priest. When discussing this point, Manuel has a ready argument: "Do you have cargos in Mexico City? You don't have them there, but people are still good Catholics."

[773] Myths and experiences with the supernatural are usually believed, and sometimes even wonder stories, but the attitude of doubt described before is also found.

Although agraristas or radicals dismiss folk beliefs as superstitions, the prevalent pattern by which folk beliefs disappear is not through lack of belief but by some sort of explanation within the accepted ideology as to why behavior based on the disappearing belief is not found any more. Thus we see in belief the same trend as in the cult, where the tendency is toward a more orthodox Catholicism. Examples follow:

539 In Zopoco there are no rich men because the town Christ "does not allow the *japíngua* to operate", *i. e.*, compacts with the Devil.

• • • •

754 Jarácuaro used to be famous as a center of witchcraft. Prospective witches entered a cave
778 behind the Church to make a compact with the Devil and learn their art. The present lack
538 of witches is attributed to the fact that the entrance to the cave has been covered: "Formerly there were witches because God allowed it. Now he stopped it. What there are now are some magicians who learn in books, but God does not allow many of them. Otherwise with so many books as there are, there would be many magicians and all of them would be causing evil."

• • • •

776 Elves are no longer seen because the Pope condemned them together with other devils to
539 go back to hell; and they have not been seen thereafter.

• • • •

821 In Cocucho there were many thunderstorms over a certain mountain. "A priest went and
539 blessed a cave in the mountain. A thunder-
783 storm destroyed the cave. They said many people were seen leaving the mountain; they

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783 were crying and saying people did not care for them any more; they went to Tierra Caliente."

* * * *

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[778] "Nowadays a dead man's finger is no longer good. In olden times it was useful because miracles still were possible. Now it is all finished, or maybe they were saints? Who knows?"

668 In this Catholic group, the people who have the most contacts with the outside world are not, like the agraristas, those more closely related to the government or school, but those who attend sinarquista rallies even as far away as Morelia or Guadalajara, or send boys to study for the priesthood. Like the agraristas, they are more closely connected with national life than the traditionalists, but they represent a different kind of allegiance to national institutions.

* * *

182
771 The folk culture of the Tarascan communities has been characterized economically and socially and the main traits of the folk religion have been described. To the extent that the local communities have an economic and social life independent of the external world, an ideology of its own is typical of the folk culture. It is associated mainly with unorganized religion and the celebration and organization of the local Catholic cult. To the extent that the local community is part of a wider society